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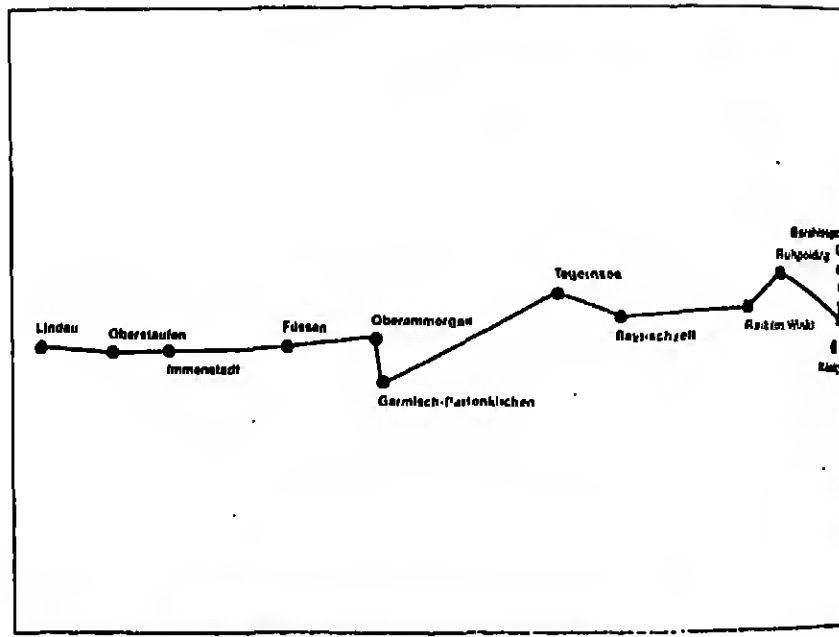
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- 2 Königssee
- 3 Lindau
- 4 Neuschwanstein Castle

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## Superpowers both need cooled-down Lebanon

**Allgemeine Zeitung**

Beneath the cedars of Lebanon the flames of a war that is as pointless as it is undeclared blaze brightly. Shites and Druzes fight with arms from abroad against the ascendancy of the Christians.

Syrian and Israeli troops are based in Lebanon; the one because President Assad has visions of a Greater Syria, the other because Israel aims at forward defence of its northern border threatened from Lebanon.

America and Russia, the superpowers, are indirectly involved but have so far taken good care to ensure that their commitments on behalf of their respective protégés don't lead to clashes between their own forces in the area.

In spite of this cautious crisis management in Moscow and Washington further developments in Lebanon are unpredictable until this dangerous far-flung field of the Middle East.

Any realignment of power in Lebanon to the advantage of Israel's Islamic enemies can spell a threat to Israel's very survival.

So it could lead to military moves aimed at providing clearance but entailing considerable consequences for the close-meshed network and economic ties between the oil states and Europe.

Due to the debate on missile modernization in Central Europe, the months of discussion about Mr Andropov's illness and waiting to see who might emerge as the new Kremlin leader the Lebanon crisis at times took a back-seat role in world affairs.

The collapse only became obvious when the 1,600 US marines got into a hopeless situation and President Reagan was left with no option but to try to carry on governing from the fortifications of his Presidential palace.

America had to admit it had miscalculated the situation and balance of power.

In the 1950s President Eisenhower sent nearly 20,000 US marines to pacify the country and restore Western-style government.

Even then Lebanon continued to be shaken by crises. The contrasting interests of the various creeds and communities could only be kept in check temporarily.

Extremist trends, with external backing, continually came to the fore. The foreign influence on domestic developments has always been from Syria, Israel trying in vain to counteract it supporting the Christians.

The only way to find out for sure what

further course the situation might take in Lebanon is to make inquiries in Damascus.

Anyone who is not directly involved in the Lebanon fighting and would like to mediate or exercise a moderating effect will have to try and come to terms with President Assad.

Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss, a recent visitor to the Syrian capital, may not have coordinated his visit with the Bonn government but in principle he went to the right capital.

It was a tricky mission, however, and one can but wonder why the CSU leader did not check with the Bonn Cabinet, which he and his party support, before accepting the Syrian invitation.

It doesn't speak well for the internal cohesion and external credibility of a coalition when such spectacular diplomatic moves are made by a leading member of the coalition and then publicly disavowed by both the Chancellor and the Foreign Minister.

A mission that basically was to the point has thus quite unnecessarily been discredited.

What may now happen in Lebanon? Syria is likely to set its cap at stabilising its influence on the future government.

But President Assad will probably avoid a merger to form a Greater Syria so as not to force Israel, and with it the United States, to resort to counter-measures.

The superpowers continue to share an interest in preventing the flames in Beirut from spreading throughout the Middle East.

Moscow accordingly retains control over the large-size missiles it has set up in Syria, while Washington steers clear of a full-scale invasion of Lebanon in spite of occasional bomb raids.

Vietnam and Afghanistan are deterrent examples for both superpowers of even the largest military power being driven from one defeat to the next by determined guerrillas in difficult terrain.

In addition to this shared experience the two nuclear giants must also feel



## Looking for unity

European Union was one of the main topics when Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl (right) met Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens in Brussels. See story below.

(Photo: AP)

they share another reality. The only war declared by Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran is aimed at them both, without distinction.

What is going on in Lebanon can from Syria's viewpoint be explained as politically and historically justifiable intervention.

Khomeini sees it as part of the general uprising of the Arab-Islamic world he has called into being against alienation by the rich industrialised countries of Europe and America.

He has combined a return to Islamic beliefs and the Islamic way of life with an appeal to fight the enemies of the true belief from Baghdad and Beirut to Jerusalem.

The danger of fighting spreading throughout the Middle East is caused less by President Assad in Damascus, with his Greater Syrian designs, or by the parties to conflict in Lebanon itself.

The greatest threat is posed by the fanatical hara-kiri corps of Shiite Moslems who at Khomeini's behest aim to carry the green flag of Mohammed to Jerusalem and against Israel.

Hermann Dexheimer

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 18 February 1984)

## Europe again searches for some cash

Europe is going begging again. Sessions of the Council of Ministers in Paris and Brussels are embarking on yet another of the innumerable bids to realign EEC contributions and tap fresh sources of cash for the Common Market.

Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is one of the most anxious observers of their progress.

Last summer Chancellor Kohl put together an EEC decision-making package consisting of European Community membership for Spain and Portugal, a partial reform of the Common Agricultural Policy, a reduction in the European steel industry's capacity and the provision of extra Common Market funds.

This package includes the most important factor that may break the hounds of Herr Stoltenberg's budget plans for 1985 and the years thereafter.

The Bonn budget is likely to face additional European expenditure totalling several billion deutschmarks a year, and President Mitterrand of France is sure to go all-out to reach a decision on the package while France is in the EEC chair.

As the Germans are the main supporters of Spanish and Portuguese membership they will not for long be able to resist pressure to increase from 1 to 1.4 per cent the national value-added tax revenue payable to the EEC in Brussels.

The difference is DM4bn a year as far

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## ■ WORLD AFFAIRS

## The age of the old men at the top: a probable plus for common sense

Mr Andropov may have died but the world, or rather the great powers are still ruled by old men. Ronald Reagan is 73, Deng Xiaoping 79, Konstantin Chernenko 72.

The new Kremlin leader may form part of a collective, but old men predominate in the politbureau too.

In business life in general, old age may not be in demand, but in world affairs ageing politicians are clearly highly-rated.

There may be good reasons, but philosophers of all ages and all parts of the world have colourful and contradictory comments to make on old age.

Being old can mean being stubborn and avarice; it can also mean being mature and wise. Marie Ebner-Eschenbach said it was the time of life at which we finally attained wisdom.

Does this apply to the men in charge of the superpowers? All one can say is that in contrast to attacks levelled a few weeks and months ago there now seems to be an increase in the dulcet tones of moderation.

But this change of mind is sure not to have been due solely to sentiments of piety in view of Mr Andropov's death.

For some time Mr Reagan has said he is ready to negotiate with the Russians. He has not ruled out a summit meeting if the two sides are really keen to achieve results.

The eminence grise in Peking is also keen to bury the hatchet and anxious to

come to a peaceful arrangement with the Soviet leaders.

Deputy Premier Wan Li not only headed the funeral delegation. He was also honoured by being specially mentioned by the new Soviet general secretary.

As for Mr Chernenko himself, he had not an unkind word to say about Mr Reagan, merely offering an honest dialogue with the West.

The Soviet Union, Mr Andropov's successor said, would continue to pursue a policy aimed at coexistence and peace for all.

But that is a tranquilliser even the man in the street finds hard to stomach. He may well realise that the men at the helm are only human but he also senses the dark, apocalyptic dangers that threaten to engulf the globe.

They are so explosive they could well make the world a vale of tears.

The policy pursued by the men in power consists of drastically pointing to the writing on the wall while behaving as though they were pursuing national policies along 19th century lines.

Mr Reagan is keenly aware of the strength the United States has regained. He stands to gain nothing from a confrontation with the Soviet Union because he wants to be re-elected as a President who has brought peace and security.

The Beirut debacle has shown him that you can't always get what you want

by wading straight in and aiming for it: there are times when a tactical approach is indispensable.

Mr Deng has set aside any ideas of perfect cooperation with the United States. Cooperation with America has neither yielded Taiwan nor upstaged the Soviet Union.

The Chinese leader now sees a balanced doubles with the other two superpowers as the best prospect for the future of his country.

In global terms that may be beneficial, but it also involves taking sides against America.

The new man in the Kremlin is no more in a position than his colleagues to risk a permanent large-scale feud with the West.

He and the other old men of Moscow not only have no intention of jeopardising Lenin's life's work; they want to make the promised land of workers and peasants even larger and more powerful.

Given the appalling economic conditions in the Soviet Union that can only mean compromising with the enemy, and as no-one wants to lose face there is a great deal of play-acting.

Acting may be amusing and, indeed, entertaining. But in reality it has no more than symbolic value. It is a value that must not be underestimated but cannot ease current hardship.

Alfred Weber, the cultural sociologist, said in 1950 that the situation was so apocalyptic he would be bound to

abandon hope were it not to be assured that realisation of the danger would trigger forces to stem the tide that would otherwise inevitably take its toll.

He made an almost impassioned plea for international understanding. Others have called for something similar. Caspar Friedrich von Weizsäcker, for instance, talks in terms of an international affairs policy that alone can save the world and ensure its future.

But waiting for a wonder, and he is the wonder of mankind coming to its own assistance, is surely not enough: it cannot conceivably suffice.

We have relied for far too long on its self-curative powers of nature and gone on to abuse them time and again. We really need all over the world a change in consciousness.

It must no longer be first and foremost a matter of detail but of the whole, especially as the present day has rational characteristics.

Most political problems could indeed be solved if we were to be guided by common sense, but it is also true that we will get nowhere with prompt appeals to common sense.

It may well be a labour of Sisyphus that lies ahead. But let us return to the old men who rule the superpowers and to a large extent, the world.

They are unlikely to risk dangerous experiments over and above their words. They want to hand over the life's work intact.

That ought to predestine them to no bounds whatever to common sense, using it as the sole means of conducting international affairs.

Younger politicians find it hard to jump over their own shadows. It may come easier to older men.

Heinrich Stobbe  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 17 February 1984)

He has also changed the prerequisites of summit diplomacy, although the need for summits seems not yet to have changed. Rhetoric is now pitted against rhetoric. President Reagan's rhetoric has at least contributed toward a much greater awareness of the problems of arms control and disarmament on the part of Western opinion.

That is a fine starting point for a high-level dialogue, but there is still much to be done.

The new Soviet leader will remain a transitional, stopgap figure. He has power in the Kremlin but will lack the reign policy line as long as Mr Gorbachev continues to predominate, and with the chill in East-West relations in 1984.

The Kremlin can be in no hurry to hold a fresh summit with a leader that is only at the outset of a process of change and a leader who still needs to be given his finishing touch.

President Reagan should be in a hurry either.

Heinz Bode  
(Die Welt, 17 February 1984)

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## ■ HOME AFFAIRS

## Changing of the guard in Berlin: a young mayor faces his High Noon

The changing of the guard in Berlin is also a changing of the generation: Eberhard Diepgen, 43, the former CDU leader in the assembly, has taken over as mayor from Richard von Weizsäcker, who is set to become next Federal president.

The two men differ not only in age. They also have different personalities. When asked last year what event he would have liked to have witnessed, Diepgen said "the cutting of the Gordian knot by Alexander the Great."

Von Weizsäcker would never have given such an answer. He is as little interested in the Gordian knot as in the film Diepgen has repeatedly said he wants to see: *High Noon*.

Von Weizsäcker has never been interested in trials of strength. He prefers to circumvent problems he considers insoluble.

Diepgen is also no powerhouse. But he admires those who are. Though himself a man who thinks twice, he bows to people like Alexander the Great and John Wayne with his quick draw.

Detectors might well say that people who are unsure of themselves look longingly to those who are. In conversation, however, Diepgen conveys the impression of a man who knows himself and who certainly does not lack self-confidence.

But the authority he will need as mayor will have to be earned. And in Berlin this can only be done by displaying personality. The Berliners expect their mayor to be outstanding both inwardly and outwardly so that they can identify themselves with him.

In September 1982, while speaking in the Bundestag on the state of the nation, Richard von Weizsäcker said: "The state of the nation revolves around Berlin. Berlin is both centre and border. Centre means attraction, which leads to destruction and undesirable influences. But it also means the chance of peaceful development."

"Border, if closed, means thinning out. Cohesive border regions are always threatened by depletion. Both the dangers and the opportunities affect not only the Berliners but all Germans. This reign policy line as long as Mr Gorbachev continues to predominate, and with the chill in East-West relations in 1984."

This enabled him to win the contest for the mayor's office against Education Senator Hanna-Renate Laurien.

As mayor, however, Diepgen will have to stand on his own feet. Acting just as the extended arm of a party grouping he would be unable to rally support in the city.

He must convey his image and learn to live with the loneliness of an office that leaves no room for a mingling of political and personal ties.

There is not much time for this process of cutting the umbilical cord and projecting an image.

Berlin will go to the polls in the spring of 1985. By then the man who, though quite effective behind the scenes, has no public image will have to prevent the SPD and the Greens from capturing the majority vote and creating Hesse conditions in the city.

Harry Ristock, the Social Democratic candidate, is backed by forces that favour such an experiment.

Diepgen will only be able to stand his ground if the FDP is returned to the assembly and he can continue the coalition with the junior partner.

The mayor is confident despite polls that give the liberals only four per cent of the vote — one per cent short of the magic five per cent needed for representation in the assembly.

Diepgen wants continuity, and this is rather easy to achieve considering that he played a major part in drafting von Weizsäcker's policy.

Continued from page 1

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 February 1984)

This is the yardstick that will be applied to Diepgen. Like von Weizsäcker before him, he has now for the first time in his political career assumed an unprotected and exposed position as Berlin's mayor.

For von Weizsäcker, this position was tailor made. No other post would have better enabled him to demonstrate his suitability for the presidency.

His disenchantment with party politics was in accord with his longing to be non-partisan, a man for the people, a symbolic figure and a rallying point for an all-party coalition.

The CDU has often been annoyed by von Weizsäcker's aloofness from the party hustle. But it knew very well that this very aloofness was needed for an election victory in Berlin.

This was so with Ernst Reuter and with Willy Brandt. Von Weizsäcker simply continued the tradition.

All these Berlin mayors were relatively independent of their parties. They were usually able to sidestep party interference. They could deal with local politics outside the confines of the party. They could say: "I am Berlin". They could translate words into action.

This shows some of the difficulties Diepgen will have to master.

The Social Democratic Mayor Dietrich Stobbe floundered because he could not cut the umbilical cord that tied him to those who put him in office.

This should be a warning for Diepgen who, like Stobbe, always had trailblazers at his side, friends since his student days at Berlin's Free University.

These powerful CDU men, headed by Bonn MP Peter Kitzmann and Klaus-Rüdiger Landwsky, the deputy head of the Berlin CDU, have always stood by Diepgen.

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Continued from page 1

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 February 1984)

He would, however, like to intensify the social component. He wants the CDU to take over from the SPD as the working man's party.

At the moment, the SPD's decision-making bodies are dominated by the public sector workers union (ÖTV) where the skilled worker is the exception rather than the rule.

The Alternatives are in a similar position. There it is the teachers union that dominates.

Diepgen's aim is to prevent Ristock from emulating Holger Börner of Hesse and Hans Koschnick of Bremen who last year cloaked themselves in the traditional SPD mantle and thus succeeded in state elections — against all expectations.

Due to its social structure, Berlin has always tended towards the left, and this makes it particularly difficult to capture votes for the conservative camp.

The 1985 election therefore has priority for Diepgen, and the struggle for voter percentage points has already begun.

He does have a reputation of being a doer. But he still has to demonstrate that he is also a thoughtful policy shaper.

His intended policy towards the GDR is pragmatic. His concept is based on a *Deutschlandpolitik* to be drafted and implemented in cooperation with Bonn.

With his CDU/FDP Senate, the new mayor will have to solve the problems that Richard von Weizsäcker described in the Bundestag: "What is decisive is our viability. Unemployment is putting us to the test because the manufacturing industry, Berlin's most important employer, has shrunk 35 per cent in the past 11 years."

Von Weizsäcker always criticised those companies that moved their headquarters away from Berlin, leaving only the workbenches in the city.

"The decisions of the remote executive offices have always had a negative ef-

## East Berlin gives short shrift to one-Germany resolution

East Berlin has replied quickly and harshly to a resolution by the three main Bundestag groups over German unification.

The resolution was drawn up by the CDU/CSU, the FDP and the SPD, the groups that "back the Constitution."

On one of the resolution's major points, a constitutionally guaranteed common German citizenship, East Berlin's reply is just a rehash of what party boss Erich Honecker said in the GDR Declaration in 1980.

A broad Bundestag majority has made it clear that the change of government in Bonn has not resulted in a confrontation that East Berlin might even have welcomed. (*Realpoliticians* in East Berlin know that they cannot — yet — seriously count on the Greens.)

In terms of East Berlin logic, a tough initial reply seemed probable.

Such a reaction would be aimed at nipping in the bud any annoyances such as appeals for peace.

Peace appeals in the East make it obvious that the search for peace cannot ignore Soviet missiles — and East Ber-



A step up: Berlin's new Governing Mayor, Eberhard Diepgen, and the key to the door. (Photo: Werck)

fect on Berlin's job market. It is essential for our viability to remedy this."

Diepgen won't be able to implement any more far-reaching policies than his predecessor. Instead, he will have to stick to von Weizsäcker's priorities as part of the envisaged continuity: reform of Bonn's Berlin promotion programme, austerity budget with more investment spending and more jobs.

Four thousand additional training places are to be created; and this should be coupled with a structural programme for small and medium companies.

Von Weizsäcker's idea of a "job creating link between Berlin's top research and industry" can also open up new perspectives.

But Diepgen knows that all this will not be worth the paper it is written on unless Bonn cooperates. And Bonn is cutting down on spending.

Jürgen Engert  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 10 February 1984)

lin's touchy leaders don't like that sort of thing.

The growing boldness of East Germans filing applications for exit visas and above all the spreading willingness to put up with the disadvantages this brings is another reason to issue a hard reply.

This could have prompted Honecker to cement "sovereignty" along the lines of the Prussian rulers, who have been quoted a lot lately.

And then there is the complicated web of East Germany's ties with Moscow.

There is the uncertainty about what will happen now that Andropov is dead.

In the circumstances, it might have been more appropriate to take the more traditional cautiously aloof stance, particularly as surprising and perhaps enticing signals are coming from Bonn.

Then if the opportunity arose for inner-German cooperation on common interests, East Germany could still grasp it later and profit thereby.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 February 1983)

## The ifs and buts that come AD Yuri Andropov

Mr Gromyko, who is the longest-serving Foreign Minister on the international stage.

It is not a time for super-summits, arguably more one for mini-summit meetings of Foreign Ministers.

From the Russian viewpoint summit meetings at the top level are thus rendered superfluous, not to say undesirable, until further notice.

The Soviet Union is not going to risk such serious mishaps as befell US diplomacy twice in Vienna, where inexperienced Presidents conferred, first with Mr Khrushchev, then with Mr Brezhnev, and headed with eyes wide open for foreign policy disaster.

Today's great powers cannot profit from the spirit of Vienna because they lack several points held in common by Metternich and the old masters of the 1815 congress.

One is the style of Cabinet diplomacy. Another is that today's leaders, unlike their predecessors over a century and a half ago, have entirely different views on the law and society.

Metternich and his fellow-delegates shared a grand design. Their aim was to stabilise conditions in Europe for decades.

The statesmen who meet at today's so-called summits merely conceal in a smokescreen of palaver contrasting views they know full well cannot be reconciled in this way.

As a rule this failure is due in part to inadequate preparation.

The Congress of Vienna was the best-prepared conference ever held to deal with problems of such magnitude. That was why it succeeded in solving them.

A summit calls for elegance, to use an old-fashioned term, and if elegance is not to be had (and Soviet interlocutors are seldom elegant), then at least a minimum of preparatory groundwork.

Preparations must be coordinated to minimise the risk of disappointment, and it is an enormous risk at spectacular encounters between statesmen.

Richard Nixon was the best US President this century in his conduct of foreign policy, and he knew why he distrusted summit meetings the outcome of which had not been prearranged down to the smallest detail.

The more often Dr Kissinger took part in major decisions, the more he developed from a showman to a technician with a perfect line in secret diplomacy.

Expectations placed in a summit meeting must be indivisible. They have been at none of the summits held since the Second World War.

They could hardly be so because they were based on unilateral hopes by the West that were encouraged but not shared by Soviet rhetoric.

Mr Reagan has been much maligned for the harsh notes he has sounded in clashes with the Soviet Union, but he has changed the groundwork of dialogue.

Dr. J. No. 1122



DEFENCE

Combat strength must be boosted, says minister

The Bundeswehr faces far-reaching decisions on its peacekeeping role in the months ahead, Defence Minister Manfred Wörner has told armed forces commanders in Travemünde on the Baltic.

He and Bundeswehr Inspector-General Wolfgang Altenburg told roughly 400 generals, admirals and colonels at the 27th Travemünde conference that conventional combat strength must be boosted.

Referring to the intellectual groundwork of Bonn peace policy, Herr Wörner said a desire for peace must not be confused with a peace policy.

"The peacemaker is not someone who makes himself unilaterally defenceless, thereby throwing the door wide open to the use of force," he said.

"It is someone who pursues a level-headed policy of balancing military power and arriving at political understanding, thereby preventing the outbreak of war without forfeiting freedom."

Bundeswehr soldiers could do their job with an easy conscience. Writers such as Günter Grass and others who in the Heilbronn Declaration claimed the Bundeswehr was subject to an aggressive strategy were not telling the truth.

Before they criticised the armed forces they ought to bear the facts in mind.

He stressed that breaking the law and blockading barracks were not suitable means of conducting democratic disputes. He encouraged soldiers to go out more in uniform; they served the cause of peace and honour.

General Altenburg, dealing with Nato's fighting strength, said it could only withstand a Warsaw Pact attack for a few days using conventional weapons.

It would have to think in terms of early resort to nuclear weapons. That, he said, made the use of nuclear weapons for political purposes, be it to act as a deterrent or to end a war, problematic.

Nato needed to improve its conventional combat strength to prevent the Soviet Union from making a swift and sweeping westward advance.

What the West needed was Nato units in being and capable of reacting immediately, including defence from aerial attack.

At the same time, the general said, the Soviet land forces would need to come up against a cohesive Nato line of defence when their second wave was sent in.

Last but not least, the Soviet Union must not be allowed to interrupt to any lasting extent what for Nato are vital sea routes.

With the Bundeswehr in mind General Altenburg left no doubt that greater financial efforts needed to be undertaken if this objective was to be accomplished.

They would need to be greater than the zero growth in real terms that was currently planned for the German armed forces.

He said plans that were being drawn up at the Defence Ministry would be completed by June. Additional financial requirements could then be quantified.

He had a number of illuminating comments to make on individual aspects of the state of the Bundeswehr.

The peace debate. Armed forces were useless without firm and clear determination to defend oneself. The sermon on the Mount was often wrongly interpreted.

The individual might be able to dis-

pense with personal protection, but those who were responsible for their fellow-citizens, in the final analysis the state, were duty-bound to defend the next man and protect him by means of personal sacrifice if need be.

Political office-holders could not be absolved of responsibility for justifying the Bundeswehr as a political means of preserving peace.

Expressions of opinion by service-men. Serving members of the armed forces doubtless had a right to opinions of their own, especially in the private sector.

Addressing the officer corps, General Altenburg said action would be taken against them if they were to level distorting criticism at measures taken by the constitutionally elected government.

The higher an officer's rank, the more carefully he must weigh his words in public.

Manpower. The promotion traffic jam was still a problem. Action taken so far was inadequate. The Chancellor had ordered him at the 1 February Cabinet meeting to submit proposals for a comprehensive solution.

It was not a matter of solving a social problem but of keeping the armed forces fighting fit. Ageing officers could no longer take the strain in relation to young conscripts.

There was still a shortage of 17,000 long-serving men, but the situation was improving, with more recruits coming forward and greater financial incentives to sign on for a longer period.

Rüdiger Momke (Die Welt, 15 February 1984)



Aerial arrival: Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl (center) with Defence Minister Manfred Wörner (left) and commander in chief of the armed forces General Wolfgang Altenburg in Travemünde, Schleswig-Holstein, where the annual commanders' congress was held. Chancellor Kohl was brought from Bonn by helicopter. (Photo: dpa)

The Americans have long urged their European partners to redouble their defence efforts. The message came over loud and clear again at the 21st Munich international defence conference.

The Munich gathering also revealed clear signs of increasingly anti-European sentiment in the United States.

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner called for an improvement in the West's conventional combat strength to raise the nuclear threshold.

He appealed to the new Soviet leaders to reconsider their viewpoint.

There were roughly 140 security policy-makers from various Western countries at Munich this year, and they mainly discussed reinforcement of the West's conventional capacity.

They also dealt with modern weapons technologies capable of warding off an Eastern attack as early as possible, even in the enemy's hinterland.

The went into the effectiveness and

International conference urges stronger conventional capacity

further development of Nato's strategy of a flexible response to any Eastern attack on the West.

The views voiced by Horst Ehmke, deputy leader of the SPD Opposition in the Bonn Bundestag, prompted some heated reactions and objections, especially from Americans at the conference.

SPD security policy, they said, was dangerous and irresponsible.

Ehmke advocated a political, military and strategic reorientation of Nato. He accused Washington of wanting to become the No. 1 world power in military terms again.

Herr Wörner in contrast tried to emphasise points held in common with the

United States. Several US Senators and defence experts stood up, and applauded his speech.

He was not expecting fundamental changes in Soviet foreign and security policy after the death of Mr Andropov. He was not expecting the Soviet Union to adopt a tougher military approach either.

US Vice-President Bush, in a speech read to the conference by Senator Tower, expressed his firm hope that the Soviet Union would return to the conference table.

"We are ready and willing to negotiate with the Soviet Union on the entire Continued on page 6

Technology lead of Nato 'must be extended'

The Munich international defence conference showed that security policy-makers are taking a closer look at conventional arms again now the missile deployment debate is over.

That is only logical, given that the numerical imbalance in this sector between Nato and the Warsaw Pact is bound to heighten the risk of the West resorting early to tactical nuclear weapons to avert imminent defeat.

In the long run the West cannot afford to narrow down its options to this extent.

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner indicated the right way to tackle the problem. Nato, he said, must extend its technological lead.

A number of military pundits fed the development of "intelligent" and fairly inexpensive weapons might, in the long term, for the first time ever make defending armies stronger than attackers.

But cash will be so short in the years ahead that there is no alternative to considering other "inexpensive" conventional reinforcements.

They might possibly take the form of more flexible tactics, which has traditionally been a strong point of the West.

So much will need doing in the years ahead, major tasks for Manfred Wörner, a man felt by many not long ago to be a political has-been.

Arnd Brücker (Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 13 February 1984)

Options open to peace movement

Will the peace movement's hopes come back to life like crocuses in bloom when spring comes? Many delegates to the two-day action conference in Cologne may have felt so.

The peaceniks have an ambitious programme for 1984: campaigns in spring and autumn, a referendum they plan to organise and a total conscientious objection campaign.

In effect their plans are much the same as ever. Yet doubts are called for as to whether the peace movement can still do much.

The helplessness that beset the movement after the Bundesrat vote and the deployment of the first Pershing 2s could not be solved by fresh campaign tactics.

It is more deep-seated, and defeat is not exactly motivate people. The peace movement cannot simply carry on as nothing had happened.

The Soviet Union has replied to the stationing of Pershing 2s and cruise missiles in the West by deploying SS-20s and 22s in the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Given the military facts it is steady less credible to level criticism mainly at the firepower of US missiles and to make Soviet missiles out to be harmless or to ignore them.

The minimum consensus that has been far held the peace movement together thus no longer enough.

If it is to survive it will need a new concept. It must fight the arms race on both East and West and make its political, economic and social consequences clear.

Communists and radical campaigners have so far stymied any such ideas. They continue to do so the peace movement will increasingly manoeuvre beyond the political pale. (Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 February 1984)

PERSPECTIVE

The thorny path towards reconciliation between Germany and Poland

Said Polish writer Roman Kurst, Deputy editor-in-chief of the literary magazine *Wyznawcz*, in a Radio Bremen series of talks entitled *Encounter with Poland*.

They were broadcast in 1963 when "normalisation" by the terms of the December 1970 Warsaw Treaty was still a distant prospect.

Yet even then German publicists were left to have made a major contribution toward understanding and reconciliation with the Polish people.

Kurst's words make a fitting foreword to the newly published collection of essays commissioned by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and entitled *Unusual Normalisation - Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland*.

It consists of personal experiences penned by writers whose work has largely contributed toward the change in public awareness in Germany without which the understanding with Poland reached in the 1970s treaty policy would hardly have been possible.

We owe to writers such as Lodz-born Karl Dedecius, who now heads the German Poland Institute in Darmstadt, an abundance of Polish literature in translation since the early 1950s.

Dedecius was merely following in the footsteps of a fertile tradition established by German writers and poets such as Bettina von Arnim, Ludwig Börne, Adalbert von Chamisso, Georg Harster, Emanuel Geibel, Friedrich Heibel, Heinrich Heine and others.

They all voiced solidarity with the oppressed Poles in times of national hardship brought about by the forcible division of their country.

These early efforts to foster understanding were greatly appreciated in Poland, as shown by a catalogue of Polonia published in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1946 and 1966 exhibited at the Warsaw book fair in May 1966.

"Dark and oppressive though the historic burden on German-Polish relations may be," the catalogue said, "inter-relationships in our respective literatures are both gratifying and encouraging."

This was also particularly true of endeavours by the churches in the two countries.

The first breakthrough was the Memorandum on the East issued by the German Protestant Church in October 1965, especially in its section on international law.

It dealt with a taboo on the burden issue and prompted heated public debate. "It contained just what the Polish bishops had for so long hoped in vain of the German Catholic church," wrote Hans-Jacob Stehle, a long-serving German foreign correspondent in Warsaw.

What they had hoped for, he wrote, was "a self-critical, realistic review of the moral and legal problems of the border - with the conclusion that it would be better to forgo any claims to revise it."

On behalf of Polish fellow-citizens, Cardinal Döpfner of Munich wrote in January 1966 to Bishop Scharf of the Protestant church. He thanked the bishop for "the courageous move made from your midst." The Polish bishops then took the ini-

tiative and wrote back: "Let us try to forget. No polemics, no more cold war; let us get a dialogue going instead." They canvassed for understanding "for our fatherland, which emerged from mess murder not as a victorious country but weakened in the extreme," which was why it had an "elementary need of security."

The Polish bishops' letter also expressed appreciation of "the suffering of millions of German refugees and expellees." The German bishops' reply was "so circumspect and diplomatic that the Polish Communists were even able to use it as an ironic jibe in the Polish bishops' direction."

Germany's Roman Catholic bishops felt obliged to hedge for domestic policy reasons and with regard for the expellees' associations. Cardinal Wyszyński of Poland voiced frank disappointment in a letter to Cardinal Döpfner dated 5 November 1970.

"I must frankly admit to you," he wrote, "that the answer of the German bishops in our letter of reconciliation has disappointed not only the Poles but also world opinion."

"You have not taken up without reservations our hand of friendship extended so cordially."

In this letter, written two days after Bonn Foreign Minister Walter Scheel had begun negotiating the terms of the Warsaw Treaty, Cardinal Wyszyński openly advocated support for Bonn's Ostpolitik.

"At this historic moment," he wrote, "for the first time since the dreadful events of 25 years ago and the alienation between our two peoples there seems to be a possibility of a settlement on vital issues for the Polish people and state."

"Can episcopal leaders in the Federal Republic afford to look on idly?"

"In our 1965 exchange of letters we appealed for mutual reconciliation in

the spirit of the Gospels and the Vatican Council.

"Negotiations are now being held to specify the political consequences of this change of heart between our two peoples."

"I feel the Church is duty-bound to point out to the government how important the impending decisions are and to ensure that we don't pass by or lag behind this historic event."

A great service to the cause of reconciliation was done by a group of critical Catholics led by Walter Dirks, Gottfried Erb and Norbert Greinacher and known as the Bensberg Circle.

They wrote a March 1968 Memorandum of German Catholics on Polish-German issues which, as Erb put it, continued "what the Protestant memorandum had already begun."

It partly offset a deficit on the Catholics' part that the German bishops were unable to offset in their reply to the Polish bishops' letter.

These intensive endeavours could not fail to have an effect on the general public. A change of opinion gradually occurred that was registered by the Alvensbach market research organisation at the end of 1967 as follows:

Fifty-three per cent of West Germans were in favour of recognising the Oder-Neisse line as the border between Germany and Poland for the sake of reconciliation with Poland.

Only 33 per cent were opposed to the idea.

"The Bensberg Circle merely voiced in public what had previously been admitted off the record at best. As a result the memorandum came as a relief to many."

In this way, as a result of courageous initiatives by social forces from the para-political sector, the groundwork was laid for the crucial move in "unusual normalisation," the treaty policy pursued by the Social and Free Democratic coalition led by Chancellor Willy Brandt.

"Social Democratic foreign policy is mostly a bold venture," writes Erich Brost, publisher of the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*.

"It must always be a policy of peace and understanding yet cannot be pursued in isolation and heedless of the policies of other political parties and the views of the general public."

Before the war Herr Brost was a Danzig journalist. He wrote for the *Danziger Volksstimme* and was a member of the city council.

He championed the cause of German-Polish understanding and intensified ties between German Social Democrats and Polish Socialists during his years in exile in Poland, Sweden, Finland and Britain.

These ties made it easier to come to terms after the war.

Links with the Polish government in exile in London were forged by the former editor of *Dziennik Poznanski* and chairman of the peace conference preparatory commission, Jozef Winiewicz.

He returned to Poland in 1945 and was appointed Polish ambassador to the United States. Under Foreign Minister Rapacki and his successors he served as Deputy.

Winiewicz was the man who wrote the original drafts of the Rapacki plans for a thinning-out of East Bloc and Western forces in Central Europe.

He was also the Polish negotiator of the terms of the settlement reached by the two countries during Willy Brandt's term as Bonn Chancellor.

It is surely no coincidence that publicists such as Marion Dönhoff, Erich Brost, Peter Bender, Hansjakob Stehle, Karl Dedecius and Werner Plum had mixed feelings about recent events in Poland.

But after spending decades in the service of German-Polish understanding they spoke out against emotional exaggeration and above all were opposed to the imposition of sanctions.

They know from personal experience that the only way to promote change in

Ungeöhnliche Normalisierung - Beziehungen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zu Polen (Unusual Normalisation - Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland), edited by Werner Plum for the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and published by Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, Bonn, 328pp, cloth, DM19.80.

the East is to observe restraint. Pressure, in the form of sanctions, will only strengthen the hand of forces opposed to change and reform.

In spite of the sympathy everyone may have felt toward the independent Polish trade union, Solidarity, they all knew there was a limit beyond which no-one could go.

Given Poland's membership of the Warsaw Pact and its geopolitical situation there was bound to be one, although no-one exactly knew where it lay as far as the Soviet Union was concerned.

After experiences with the Czech reform movement in 1968 one was bound to have increasing doubts as to the political wisdom of Solidarity leaders who made exaggerated demands.

To want everything is to jeopardise what has already been achieved.

Viewed in this light General Jaruzelski was the last Polish cardinal. He is more of a tragic figure than a born dictator and it is hard to disagree with Werner Plum in his assessment:

"In a grotesque contradiction the Polish army keeps the Polish people in unfreedom while ensuring Poland's freedom. It is a Polish general who seized power for himself and his army in Warsaw."

"In 1981 it looked distinctly possible that a Soviet general and the Red Army might be seizing power."

Hans-Georg Glaser (Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 6 February 1984)



The picture that flashed round the world: In 1970, Chancellor Willy Brandt kneels before the memorial to the victims of the Warsaw Ghetto. (Photo: Sven Simon)



## ■ MINORITY GROUPS

## A teacher reflects as homeward-bound Turkish children depopulate a school

Maaesmann, the huge heavy engineering firm, is cutting back its payroll. Many Turks have accepted cash severance terms and are returning to Turkey. Hannelore Schulte, a teacher at a school in Duisburg-Hüttenheim where 80 per cent of the pupils are Turkish, here describes for *Die Zeit* her feelings as the children leave the school in droves to go back to Turkey with their parents.

By the end of the school year there will be no more than six or seven children left in several classes at my elementary school in Duisburg-Hüttenheim.

The reason: Turkish children are returning with their parents to Turkey: the exodus has begun in this part of the city, where whole blocks have been occupied for years by Turks.

Windows have been stripped of their curtains. Outside there are piles of crates and cartons waiting to be taken away.

Duisburg department stores keep delivering goods that will be taken back to Turkey: washing machines, TV and video sets and complete living room suites.

Most people living here work for the Mannesmann company which has been reducing its payroll for months.

Nobody is to be fired. Generous severance payments are offered.

There has been talk among both Turks and Germans of huge sums, which has fuelled the anti-Turkish sentiments of many German workers.

Our school, with its 80 per cent Turkish enrolment, was unperturbed when the situation arose.

We expected no problems when the company presented its proposals and offered to talk things out with the Turkish workers.

Then the personnel department expected that some 300 Turks would accept the offer and go home. But more than 900 have.

We teachers are busy making out transfer certificates and thinking of the mid-1970s when so many Turks arrived that it became a topic of national discussion.

We felt like educational pioneers because none of us were trained to teach German as a foreign language.

There was no teaching material for this target group and none of us knew anything about the Turkish language structure. The children's mentality was strange to us, and the parents' attitude towards the school was aloof.

Those were tough years. And we felt

left in the lurch until special courses were offered and suitable books provided.

We wanted to integrate the Turks. But the illusions gave way to realism.

Both us and the Turkish families have learned a great deal from each other.

Perhaps it is the problems of those first years that now make it so hard for us to part from "our" Turks.

For the children, the few years they spent in Germany will be just another mosaic stone in their lives. They are looking forward to the change.

Nebahat will see her grandparents, whom she knows only from photographs, for the first time. Mehmet looks forward to having a cat.

The older girls have some reservations. "I would have liked to have finished school here," says Fatima, who started in secondary school this year.

I cannot help thinking of beautiful Tölly, the intelligent and pretty Diek and the lively Yasmin. What awaits them? A too-early marriage, children?

Will these bright girls with their eagerness to learn soon turn into fat, worn down women like most of their mothers?

There is not much merry anticipation among the adults. They are quiet and thoughtful, wondering how long all that money will really last once it has to stretch beyond the immediate family to provide for a horde of relations.

## Foreign women worst hit by isolation, says report

Foreign women in Germany find it harder than men to cope with an alien country.

They are less able to integrate and feel more isolated.

And, says a study by Cologne University's Institute for Social Psychology, the foreign woman's immediate family is a hindrance rather than a help.

The report, released by North Rhine-Westphalia's Social Affairs Minister, Friedhelm Farthmann, says Turkish women are worst hit by the isolation in an alien industrial society.

The confrontation with strange values can make them so insecure that "they give in to resignation and withdraw."

Contacts with Germans — in the rare cases where the patriarchal family struc-

ture permits them — often fails because of both language problems and foreign women whose life is entirely centred on the husband and his family.

An added strain is caused by the excessive expectations their families pin on their stay in Germany.

The cost of living is high and eats up most of the husband's pay. Savings for a future in the home country mostly fall short of target.

Farthmann: "The people know what their earnings are but they underestimate their spending."

Working women have to cope with the heavy dual burden of a job plus running the entire household unaided.

The children of foreigners often make their mothers feel inferior: "Their better knowledge of German and higher education make many children look down on their often uneducated mothers. The children feel superior and frequently become overbearing."

About 1.4 million (30 per cent) of Germany's 4.5 million foreigners live in North Rhine-Westphalia, the nation's most populous and industrialised state; 45 per cent of them (573,400) are women.

The 136,000 Turkish women are the largest foreign female group, followed by Yugoslavs and Greeks.

Landlords are already considering tearing down buildings because of the cost of renovating.

Teachers and parents exchange addresses and we promise to visit Turkey. We worry about the uncertain future of

the children even though we have to admit that their life in Germany was certainly harder than in Turkey.

"Many people are fed up," says a young Turk. He points to factory buildings with their anti-Turkish graffiti and the endless anti-Turkish jokes told at work.

"Have you ever seen how a salesgirl retreats when faced with a big Turkish family out shopping?"

This is all part and parcel of living in a city with more than 40,000 Turks. Our school has also had its share of anti-Turkish graffiti — and they aren't written by children.

But there are also other experiences. School and block parties with shish kebabs and Turkish bread, sweets dripping with honey and girls in their colorful harem trousers and waistcoats.

Or take a day last summer, a Sunday. The backyards of the "Turkish block" in Hüttenheim rang with the noise of playing children. The garbage cans were overflowing. Women crouched on the ground, knitting, crocheting and gossiping. Laundry fluttered from end to end and sheepskins hung out of open windows.

In the midst of the playing children a group of men played cards.

"Öğretmen, öğretmen!" (teacher, teacher!) the children called to me, grabbing my hand and dragging me to the women.

I admired their handiwork and the much sign language and the few words we knew of each other's language managed a little chat. I had a feeling of being far away in some holiday spot.

Only a few blocks further along there was a small whitewashed German house, the lawn and hedge manicured, flowers in orderly ranks, a small German girl pedalling her tricycle back and forth alone.

Hannelore Schulte (Die Zeit, 10 February 1984)

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Hannelore Schulte (Die Zeit, 10 February 1984)

A study by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, also commissioned by Farthmann, shows that it is above all Turkish women who are against their women working.

According to this study, 72 per cent of North Rhine-Westphalia's 33,600 Turkish women have jobs, compared with less than 61 per cent of Turkish women.

Foreign women hesitate to take advantage of the many opportunities for joint conversation groups, courses and other recreational activities offered by the municipalities and private organisations.

Most who do seize this chance to overcome their isolation have lived in Germany for more than five years and are as Farthmann put it, "rather progressive."

The Cologne Institute estimates the number of women who take part in these activities at 17,000 (only three per cent of the 573,400 foreign women in North Rhine-Westphalia).

Even so, Farthmann spoke of an encouraging trend "in view of the fact that two-thirds of the interested women are Turkish."

Sewing courses are the most popular of the 725 courses reviewed by the Cologne team. They account for 25 per cent of the participants.

Farthmann said it was a "gross misunderstanding" to assume that the financial incentives for repatriation provided by the Bonn government would even begin to solve the foreigners' problems.

He said that only 30,000 of the 1.4 million foreigners in Germany were eligible and that only 3,200 applications had been approved so far.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 2 February 1984)

## ■ BUSINESS

## Technology in 21st century: Germany catches the boat

The writer, Meinhard Miegel, is head of the Institute for Economic and Social Policy, Bonn. He wrote this article for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*.

modern industrialised countries is booming once again.

Naturally, the production of motor vehicles, electrical goods, precision mechanics, optical instruments, machine tools, chemicals and pharmaceuticals and, lately, aircraft and even weapons is much more important in terms of volume. It is also undisputed that Germany holds unchallenged top places in these fields.

The continuously rising export quota since the beginning of the 1980s is a sound indicator of the competitiveness of these products.

The fact is that the German export industry has been so successful as to irritate the USA, Japan and most West European countries.

Americans therefore often accuse the Japanese and the West Europeans, primarily the Germans, of letting America

the inscription Made In Germany once indicated quality. Not so much now.

Germany is being outpaced in several fields of modern technology, mostly by the Americans and the Japanese.

Some experts now even say that Germany actually depends on imports of high-tech. This is fodder for the pessimists who visualise new economic crises if the country misses the boat in such fields as micro-electronics, telecommunications and biotechnology.

But giving in to this sort of pessimism is ignoring the realities of the situation.

It is true that some industries need to improve their high-tech performance. But the success of exports last year shows that Germany is still competitive.

It is true that the high rate of the dollar helped in some areas, but that is only a partial explanation.

But the pessimistic warnings are justified in the sense that Germany must face up to the technological challenge if it is to remain competitive. And in certain areas, it does need to catch up.

Too much money is still being put into dying industries such as steel, coal and shipbuilding although everybody agrees that production costs are much

cheaper abroad despite the subsidies. Subsidies are given because of the thousands of jobs at risk. But spending money here means that it can't be spent elsewhere in growth industries.

Instead of juggling over orders on shrinking markets, more use should be made of the existing innovative potential.

There is no shortage of engineers and research successes. In this field, Germany matches the USA and Japan.

But they are ahead when in applying these technologies to production processes and products that will sell on international markets.

In other words, Germany takes too long to develop a prototype into an assembly line product.

But Germany seems to be on the right track. Word has got around that the secret of America's high-tech success is

demand for German goods when it comes to erecting complete industrial plants, communications networks, nuclear power stations and high tension electrical installations.

This is not surprising when seen in the light of Europe's cultural and economic background.

The Europeans, especially those in particularly densely populated areas, have been forced for centuries to preserve resources and to operate within complex systems in the broadest sense.

Since this ability will gain in importance, the number of decisive impulses from Europe is bound to grow.

The USA exemplifies the speed at which trends can change.

In the late 1970s, many experts held that America had missed the technological boat. Now, it is hailed as the spearhead of technological progress.

It took the Americans no time at all to prove their technological prowess.

But this applies only to certain kinds of technology. In other fields that require a more integrated and complex technology, the Europeans in general and the Germans in particular could easily repeat the American feat.

Conditions for this are not bad. In any event, fears that Germany has lost the technology race for the 21st century are unfounded.

Meinhard Miegel (Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 10 February 1984)

## From prototype to production 'too slowly'

cheaper abroad despite the subsidies. Subsidies are given because of the thousands of jobs at risk. But spending money here means that it can't be spent elsewhere in growth industries.

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But they are ahead when in applying these technologies to production processes and products that will sell on international markets.

In other words, Germany takes too long to develop a prototype into an assembly line product.

But Germany seems to be on the right track. Word has got around that the secret of America's high-tech success is

the intensive interplay of industry and science.

This shortens the time lag between the development and the application of new technologies.

It is common practice for American scientists to go from research laboratories to industry. Theory is thus constantly being tested in practice.

There is yet another difference: there is a widespread fear, often due to ignorance, of new technologies in Germany. The Americans, on the other hand, handle them as an everyday aid at work.

Small wonder then that the American example is finding imitators in Germany. Now, every German state wants to have its own Silicon Valley.

These attempts to close the technology gap are praiseworthy provided we remember that the mere copying of American models is of no use.

Silicon Valley did not happen overnight.

It will take time before Germany can reap what is being sown. But the very fact that weak points have been located and a new course charted boils down to progress.

Carola Böse-Fischer (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 February 1984)

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Continued from page 4  
range of arms control and arms limitation," he said.

He criticised the Europeans for not doing enough to defend themselves. Further increases in the US contribution to Nato defences would only be possible "if efforts can be seen to be coming from both sides."

Edward Rowny, the chief US delegate at the Start talks in Geneva, sounded an optimistic note on the continuation of missile talks with the Russians.

The Bonn government's disarmament delegate, Friedrich Ruth, saw the Soviet return to the Vienna troop cut talks on 16 March as a further sign that Moscow

would be returning to both Start and the medium-range missile talks.

Herr Wörner said the West's strategic reliance on early use of nuclear weapons must be reduced as far as possible. The use of modern technologies offered a particularly realistic prospect of heightening the conventional combat strength of Western armed forces more effectively (including cost-effectiveness).

The Bonn government saw no alternative to the flexible response strategy. An end to the conventional imbalance in Europe was called for; it was the real danger that faced Western Europe.

spa (Nordwest-Zeitung, 13 February 1984)



## ■ BUSINESS

## Sixth generation of Ibachs takes pianos out to the world

Once a year, Christian Ibach, 44, heads west to sell pianos. His four-week trip usually takes him to Britain and from there to the USA, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, Korea, Thailand and Singapore.

A medium-sized company like the Ibach factory in Schwelm needs such personal contacts with the customers to sell its product. What matters is to make the customer understand that what he gets for his money is a top quality instrument.

Christian Ibach, who heads the company together with his brother Rolf, 42, — they are the sixth generation of Ibach piano makers — told *Handelsblatt* that his company does not attempt to sell through price concessions. Nor does he let dealers have his instruments on a sale or return basis.

Competition is stiff, and only top quality offers a chance of survival. As an Ibach brochure puts it: "Quality is the result of experience and craftsmanship, science and technology."

Christian Ibach has plenty of experience — not only in foreign sales (he spent years in South Africa) but also in manufacturing and retailing. The company also has its own music shops.

Sales promotion includes inviting dealers to South Africa to inspect the Piano Manufacturers of South Africa, Pty. Ltd., Wellington, Cape Province, which



On song. Piano tuner gets the note just right.

(Photo: Ibach)

used to be a 50 per cent Ibach subsidiary.

The company's Wuppertal music shop handles imports — and not only from South Africa. But these imported pianos are not sold under the Ibach name.

Unlike the South African instruments, those imported from South Korea are made without the benefit of Ibach's know-how.

South Korean pianos are cheap, costing between DM4,800 and DM5,500.

Both the Wuppertal music shop and the company as a whole are described by Christian Ibach as "rather successful."

But success does not come of its own accord. It calls for ever new ideas and flexibility.

Ibach now contemplates having his instruments for the East Asian markets made under licence in South Korea under the very nose of the Japanese.

Only a couple of years ago, all was well with Germany's piano industry, he says.

Between 1975 and 1981, output and sales rose by 20 per cent.

But piano buyers — mostly middle class people — have become thrifter and it has become hard to make them spend between DM9,000 and DM12,000 for a good instrument. Ibach attributes this to the advent of video.

The high cost of a top rate German instrument gave foreign suppliers a chance to gain a foothold on the German market. The cheap products come from Japan, Korea and Finland. East German pianos sold under the label "German quality product" can be had for as little as DM3,000.

When the West German instrument makers charged their GDR counterparts with dumping, the East Germans promised to mend their ways.

## A sweeter note than last year

Most exhibitors at the International Musical Instruments Fair earlier this year were satisfied — particularly foreign instrument makers.

The general feeling was that it was an improvement on last year. Demand was particularly good for orchestra electronics and electronic keyboard instruments. Music publishers and makers of wind instruments also did well.

There were 48,000 visitors, 20 per cent more than last year.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 February 1984)

But Christian Ibach doubts that the East German exporters will stick to fair competition rules.

The GDR sold 3,469 pianos in West Germany in 1982 compared with 2,716 the year before. A total of 27,000 pianos were sold in West Germany in 1982, down from 34,000 a year earlier.

Christian warns against buying second hand pianos imported from Britain.

These instruments, mostly about 60 years old, sell for DM2,500 to DM3,000. But they are totally worthless because they can no longer be tuned. Says Ibach: "They are fit only for the scrap heap."

Despite the decline in the past couple of years, Ibach is cautiously optimistic about the future of Germany's piano industry.

His prices were raised 3.5 to 4 per cent at the beginning of the year. Last year, there was no scope for price increases.

Christian now wants to devote himself more to the foreign business. He has no problems with foreign languages and mentalities; he knows his customers as well as he knows his competition; and he is well aware that "the market has to be captured anew day after day."

His sights are now set on the difficult American market. "We want to plug the hole made in 1982-83 by the drop in sales to France (down 45 per cent) and Italy (down 38 per cent)."

The USA has about ten to 15 piano makers who produce some 170,000 instruments a year. The world output is estimated at 850,000. Japan accounts for 300,000, Korea for 130,000 and Europe for 50,000.

A comparison: Some 180,000 pianos were sold in pre-World War I Germany. Present sales are 27,000.

## Decline in 1920s

The big decline in the German piano industry started in the late 1920s when there are said to have been some 100 manufacturers. They have dwindled to about a dozen.

Only those managed to survive who rationalised their production in time.

It was not until the beginning of the 1950s that Adolph Ibach (today chairman of the advisory board of Rud. Mohr Sohn Pianofortefabrik GmbH) resumed production. World War II had destroyed the old factory down to the bare walls.

In 1983 sales stood at about DM1.6 (1979: DM1.2m).

Exports accounted for 46 per cent with a steep rise in sales to non-European countries.

The company's work force of 85 makes five uprights and 1.2 grand a day.

Skilled workers are still hard to get. It took Ibach more than six months to find a tuner and voicer.

The company was founded in 1794 by Johannes Adolph Ibach under the name of Adolph Ibach & Sohn. Today, it ranks among the few piano makers of world repute.

The company history is essentially the history of modern piano making.

"What we do today is assembly production with lots of individualisation," says Christian Ibach.

At the Frankfurt Musical Instruments Fair (the world's biggest) earlier this month, Ibach came up with a new type of grand piano. It is a two-door model with two seats at the rear that can be separately reclined to increase luggage space. The model was available in prototype in spring 1982 but not shown at last year's customers to judge the sound of the instruments.

(Handelsblatt, 3 February 1984)

## ■ MOTORING

## Volkswagens roll off the Nissan assembly line

Nine Wolfsburg engineers have spent over two years helping Nissan to prepare for the manufacture of the first Volkswagen in Japan.

At present only 80 to 100 a day run off the same assembly line as the Nissan Sunny at the company's modern Zama works.

In details that extend as far as the interior fittings the Japanese Santanas are the spitting image of the model made in Germany.

Views differed for a while in Wolfsburg and Tokyo on whether the Santana manufactured under licence were to be carbon copies of the German Santana or to be given a Japanese look.

The differences of opinion were one reason why the first VW made in Japan was unveiled four months behind schedule by the second-largest Japanese car manufacturer.

Volkswagen steadfastly resisted attempts by the Japanese to cater for Japanese motorists' keen interest in a dashboard bristling with impressive but superfluous lamps and switches.

Even such minor changes were vetoed. So the Santanas made in Japan were not to have dashboards that resembled fighter cockpits.

VW were determined not to let the car be diluted by product modifications. They also supplied Nissan's advertising managers with a powerful sales slogan: German Quality with the Bun-gei of the Romantic Road.

The Romantic Road, or route, is a tourist trail round picture-postcard areas of Germany.

No-one is saying how narrow Nissan have kept profit margins. Harry Bausch, sales director of VW Asia Ltd, set up in Tokyo last year, feels retail prices are in keeping with the market.

He reckons the Santana stands a fair

chance of making an impact in a part of the market with "volume sales."

The deluxe versions of comparable Japanese models that sell well now cost the equivalent of between DM 20,000 and DM 27,000.

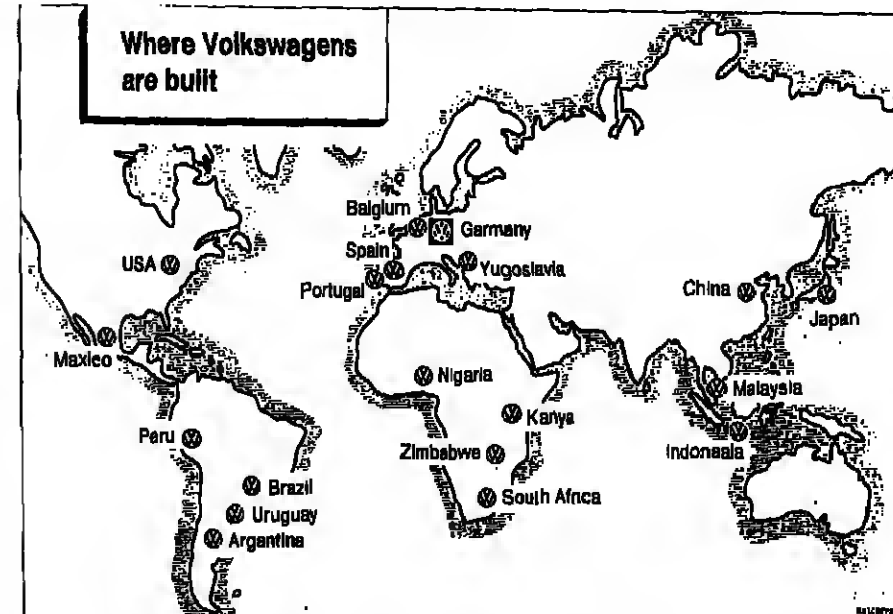
Nissan have deliberately kept within this range. The 10 Santana versions, starting with the 1.8-litre Santana Li, which comes with air conditioning and radio as standard fittings, sell for between DM 23,000 and DM 29,000.

Longer runs and the projected reduction in the percentage of German-made parts (currently about 30 per cent, including engine, gearbox and steering) could cut costs further.

VW-Audi still account for the lion's share, roughly 40 per cent, of the modest and of late declining market for imported cars in Japan.

Last year only 35,000 imported cars were sold. But BMW Japan Corp. are growing faster, with a growth rate last year of 20 per cent.

In 1978 Volkswagen sold 20,000 private cars in Japan via their sole importer



Yanase. Last year the figure was down to 13,000.

The Santana, profits from the sales of which will largely go to Nissan, will, it is hoped, send sales figures up again and boost sales of VW models imported from Germany.

Nissan expect a twofold benefit from the joint project: a sales boost and addition to their domestic range, and a quality boost plus access in German know-how.

Nissan president Takashi Ishihara has told the Press that after having lost

ground to Toyota again last year (Nissan now only account for 28 per cent of domestic car sales) the company hopes the Santana will be a promising addition in the Nissan range.

Nissan are also keen to develop and improve quality and show ready interest in Volkswagen know-how.

The Santana, for instance, is the first car made in Japan with a plastic fuel tank — an idea on which Nissan and other manufacturers have been working for some time.

(dpa, svw)  
(Mannheimer Morgen, 8 February 1984)

## VW in huge vans-for-engines deal with East Berlin

Volkswagen have agreed with the GDR to supply VW vans and other vehicles to East Germany in return for VW engines manufactured under licence on an assembly line supplied by the West German company.

If the agreement goes ahead as planned it will be the second major deal between Volkswagen and the GDR. In 1977 10,000 VW Rabbits were sold in East Germany.

The contract as envisaged will be

worth about DM600m. If it is signed this summer a first instalment of 2,000 VW vans could be shipped to the GDR later this year.

It would be followed by shipments of 2,300 Volkswagen transporters a year from 1988 to 1993, or nearly 14,000 more.

Last year VW hosted transporter sales in the Federal Republic from 55,700 to 69,200, an increase of 24 per cent after a particularly poor 1982.

The GDR contract would definitely improve output at the Hanover works where VW vans are manufactured. Jobs have been axed there for years, and workers have repeatedly been put on short shifts.

In return the GDR is to supply 100,000 VW engines (engines only, with no extras such as radiator, starter, dynamo and so on).

They will be manufactured on an assembly line that is to be dismantled in Hanover and re-erected somewhere in the GDR.

As the assembly line's capacity is well over 100,000 a year the GDR will be able to manufacture 1.05-litre and 55hp 1.3-litre VW engines (the engine of the basic Polo version and an optional Polo and Rabbit engine respectively) for its own use.

Experts feel these engines could at best be put under the bonnet of the Wartburg, but not under that of the Trabant, which currently houses a 26hp two-stroke engine.

The Trabant would have an engine far too powerful for its body if it were to be fitted out with VW engines manufactured under licence.

If the GDR were to have any intention of exporting GDR-made VW engines or cars fitted out with VW engines it

would have to conclude a more far-reaching licence agreement.

There is also a Comecon agreement on the division of labour in the motor industry the exact details of which are not known in the West. But it is reasonable to assume that the GDR cannot go ahead and manufacture a new range of private cars without first coming to terms with its Comecon partners.

Volkswagen have been assured that the Bonn government will stand surety in respect of the engine works that is to be shipped to the GDR.

A spokesman for the company has said he sees no detrimental effect of the contract on the job situation at VW.

There might merely be a slight improvement in capacity utilisation at Volkswagen's Salzgitter works.

Would VW's West German suppliers be affected in any way? That, he said, could only be judged once details of the contract were available.

A number of suppliers are worried that their business with Volkswagen will be hit by the deal with the GDR. Fears of this kind have been voiced by the foundry industry, for instance.

Otherwise VW's business with the GDR has not been too exciting in recent years, which is hardly surprising given how short East Berlin is of hard currency.

Volkswagen's last major deal with the East Germans was in 1977 when 10,000 VW Rabbits were supplied and sold in a matter of days at 10,000 GDR marks each.

The GDR sold them on the basis of a nominal exchange rate of par (for optical and ideological reasons), although in terms of purchasing power a Western Deutschmark ought to have been worth at least three GDR marks.

Rabbit owners in the GDR say the car has given sterling service, which is probably one of the reasons why the GDR decided to favour of doing business with Volkswagen again rather than foreign bidders such as Renault and Mazda.

(Ländersblatt, 10 February 1984)

## Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

The guides are handy in size and flexibly bound, indispensable for daily use in commerce, industry and the travel trade.

Four volumes are available:

North and South America, 172 pp., DM 22.80;

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## New pint-sized model unveiled

A new VW compact runabout, here unveiled in prototype at the Volkswagen research centre in Wolfsburg, is only 3.13 metres (10ft 3in) long. The Student is 52cm, not over 20 inches, shorter than the Polo. It is a two-door model with two seats at the rear that can be separately reclined to increase luggage space. When targa are high performance, low consumption and low-cost manufacture, the model was available in prototype in spring 1982 but not shown at last year's motor show, where a similar Opel model caused a sensation.

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 4 February 1984/Photo: Volkswagenwerk)



## ■ THE ARTS

## Max Beckmann's demons on a metaphysical battlefield

Three loners parted company with expressionism at an early stage in their painting careers. They were Oskar Kokoschka, Carl Hofer and Max Beckmann.

Kokoschka returned to the techniques of late impressionism. Hofer and Beckmann were realists who developed in the direction of *Neue Sachlichkeit*.

Hofer preferred harmonious, melancholic moods. Beckmann, whose birth centenary year it is, constantly dealt with the demons of what he felt was a relentless, self-destructive world.

The more he sought "to capture the likeness of the unspeakable things of life" the more keenly he felt a sense of shock about life and the more determined he was to "confine, oppress and impose a stranglehold" on the "convulsive monster" of life.

For Max Beckmann the canvas was a metaphysical battlefield. This outlook was largely a result of his experiences in the First World War, in which he served in field ambulance units in East Prussia and Flanders.

He was born in Leipzig on 12 February 1884. His parents came from Lower Saxony. He went to art college in Weimar in 1899.

The Deutscher Künstlerbund accepted his *Badende Männer am Meer* (Men Bathing by the Sea), giving an unknown young artist an accolade.

He lived in Hermsdorf, Berlin, until the outbreak of the First World War. He began by arguably following in the footsteps of Louis Corinth, but during the war he arrived at formal ideas of his own.

They included stereometric features and mask-like, punched-up figures.

Under the impression of senseless mass death in action Beckmann lost his naive belief in the harmony of creation.



Lev Bakst's 'Evening Meal' (1902) on show in a turn-of-the-century collection of Russian paintings in Cologne.

(Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv)

He was discharged in 1915 after a nervous breakdown.

He then went to Frankfurt, where he taught painting at the municipal art college from 1925 to 1932.

Hounded from his job by the Nazis, he emigrated to Amsterdam in 1937, where he used an old tobacco warehouse as a studio.

In 1947 he accepted a job as a university professor in St Louis. A year later he decided to stay in America for good.

When he died, on 27 December 1950, he was working as a teacher at the Brooklyn Art School in New York.

He regarded Grünewald, Bruegel and van Gogh as his antecedents because they had felt reality to be as inexorable and chaotic as he had.

His attempts to capture things, to change proportions, his stark exaggeration of forms, surfaces and lines served the purpose of revealing the background of human tragedy.

He abhorred sentimentality of any kind. Initially he felt form was more important than colour, but he attached increasing importance to colour as a means of emphasising the plasticity and rounded nature of what he depicted.

That accounts for the change in his

colour preferences from his Amsterdam days onward, heightening contrast by using pure colours, combining hot and cold colours and stressing light and shade by means of brighter colour. In his early work Beckmann had foreseen coming catastrophes. His urban landscapes in the 1920s with their empty rows of houses and threatening walls anticipated changes and the disastrous air raids of the Second World War. Beckmann depicted victims and hangmen, suffering, tired and blind people, rampant, animal figures and butchers of men who eagerly went about their gory handwork. In nudes he preferred powerful, Rubens-like forms expressing strength, energy and sensuality.

Conflict with his environment is strikingly shown in his many self-portraits as a clown or with a saxophone, in a dinner jacket or overcoat or, as in his later work, hidden by shadows.



Max Beckmann's 'Selbstbildnis mit Sakigra' (1919), oil on canvas.

(Photo: C. G. G.)

He portrayed himself as vigilant, without illusions and even brutal, a rebel against failed creation.

High points of his work included new-look triptyches, which were pointed to commission. They depicted

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## Kandinsky and Russia's other revolution

periodicals and spokesmen for the various and interlinked artistic sectors.

But it makes no mention of Kasimir Malevich's objectless world of suprematism, of which he exhibited paintings as early as in 1915, and none of Rodchenko. Tatlin, like Malevich, Popova and others, is represented by early work influenced by cubism and other isms.

The Russian art revolution preceded the October Revolution by several years. It may only have survived it by a short period but it has long held a firm place in art history and it is not an unimportant one.

At the opening of the Cologne exhibition, impressive as it is, there were justified complaints about the neglect of Russian art in Germany in comparison with literature and music.

Pushkin, Dostoyevsky and Turgeniev are as well-known as Tchaikovsky or Stravinsky. Why not Russian painters too?

Kandinsky and Malevich expressly emphasised the Russian aspect of their discovery and were convinced that abstract expressionism and geometrical abstraction had intellectual roots in old Russia.

What was produced in the two decades at the turn of the century by means of mutual penetration and fertilisation of the Russian heritage and Western influence, can without question be set alongside Russian literature.

The representational arts were in any case closely interlinked with music, the stage and, especially, ballet.

Painters like Zinov, Vrubel, Malyavin, Archipov and Korovin rank alongside Slevogt, Liebermann and Sisley. Kuz-

netsov, Mashkov, Falk or Kuprin may come from the school of Malise.

Alexandra Exter and Lyubov Popova, Lentulov, Altman and others testify fully-fledged cubism. Natalia Goncharova for a while competed with the advanced futurists.

Larionov's rayonism is an original achievement. The cubo-futurist paintings of Malevich make one wonder whether he may temporarily have been influenced by Legec (or vice-versa).

Most of the artists on show (and more are only represented by examples of their early work) can be pigeonholed more than one school of art.

The exhibition outlines a Russian development extending from the 19th century to constructivism in Western Europe. In Moscow and St Petersburg, as in Paris, there was a lively coexistence, interchange and succession of currents and counter-currents, experimental theories that in many cases elevated eclecticism to the status of style.

A truly dynamic personality, Buryuk said (and he could fairly say to have been one himself), cannot be satisfied with what we call style now.

Many artists whose work is on display lived on until the mid-20th century, don't know what became of them, excepting only those who returned to the West such as Kandinsky, Chagall, Goncharova and her husband, Mikhail Larionov.

"We have no idea what they went on to do in the Soviet Union and what they were allowed to do so. Some, like Altman and Tatlin, were activists in the Revolution, but that may not be much."

Others were seen again not long ago in the collection of Soviet art in Cologne. They included Robert Falk, Leonid Erman, who reverted to objectivity which, it turned out, was to preoccupy him throughout his life.

Die Welt, 11 February

## ■ LITERATURE/PHILOSOPHY

## Schleiermacher's mission: to show up the cant in Kant

The world was already under the spell of Immanuel Kant when Friedrich Ernst Schleiermacher began his writing career in the late 18th century. Kant had effectively attacked conventional metaphysics.

Theologian and philosopher Schleiermacher's works were an attack on the trends triggered by Kant. Schleiermacher, who died 150 years ago, on 12 February 1834, wanted, as Nietzsche put it, to "work towards the preservation of religion and theology."

Born in 1768, the son of a Silesian court preacher, Schleiermacher soon became aware of the spiritual milieu that surrounded him.

To counter the "Kantian irritation," he had to address the "victims of Kant's critiques, the educated class."

Continued from page 10

he confict of conformation, oppression, outrage and freedom.

Shortly before his death he finished his *Argonauts*, a strange transformation and recreation of the Ancient World saga material in a timeless world.

In honour of his birth centenary a collection of Beckmann's 1920s work is on show in Frankfurt. The catalogue contains informative articles about his intellectual origins.

He was influenced by Taoism with its speculation about the origins of the world, the transmigration of souls and birth.

He was influenced by Schopenhauer's views on the influence of instinct and will. His favourite writer was Jean Paul, who described the movement of the soul after death in the universe.

Horst Hartmann

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 11 February 1984)



Georg Büchmann... a household name

(Photo: Historia)

bestardised or misquoted proverb would send Georg Büchmann into a

Büchmann, who died 100 years ago this month, had not a shred of tolerance for it came to literary quotations and proverbs.

The German language, its richness and elegance, was something of a

few people have matched him in enjoying the German vocabulary, and his

This is clearly evidenced in the title of his first major work "On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers" (1799).

Although his views changed and expanded in many ways, he always remained faithful to the style of this work, its ideas and its tone: While the line of argument was in keeping with the philosophy of the time and its striving to probe the depths, the tone was that of a preacher and, at times, accuser.

As opposed to the German Idealism which knew no worse sin than to lag behind Kant, Schleiermacher tried to gather the fragmented bits of traditional philosophy and put them together again.

He refused to accept the drifting apart of religion, art and science.

In his "Speeches on Religion" he wrote: "Therefore you will find those who have knowledge to be pious as well. And when you come across science without religion you can be certain that it is grafted or acquired; or else it is degenerate or perhaps the kind of empty pretence that is no knowledge but serves only personal needs."

Taking the future course of philosophy as a yardstick, Schleiermacher's restoration drive was a failure.

Not so his work as a theologian where he had great influence, primarily on Protestantism.

Even though he said "the Church is a prison every truly educated person must fight against," his "Theological Encyclopedia" (1811) and "The Christian Faith" (1822) are still read and discussed in Protestant Church circles.

In 1810, he became the first dean of the theological faculty of the newly established Berlin University.

The metaphysicist Schleiermacher is



Friedrich Schleiermacher... preacher and accuser

(Photo: Historia)

unforgotten both in theological circles and among philosophers.

His *Plato* translation remains one of his lasting works. And even the classical scholar Nietzsche — a dyed-in-the-wool Schleiermacher foe — used them.

These translations that were made under the influence of Schlegel greatly facilitated and promoted interest in Plato's work among German speakers without a classical education.

In the last years of his life, Schleiermacher increasingly devoted himself to text interpretations and hermeneutics, the study of the methodological principles of interpretation and explanation.

In fact, his differentiation between the comparative and divinatory methods made him the virtual father of hermeneutics.

For Schleiermacher, the comparative method was based on formal comparisons of various authors while he interpreted divinatory as the "divined" uniqueness of a work.

Wilhelm Dilthey (and later Gadamer) adopted and perfected his method, fascinated by his intention to "understand an author better than he could understand himself."

Bernd Kischling

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 February 1984)

## The late Manès Sperber, an irksome moralist

Manès Sperber died in Paris earlier this month of a severe heart disease that prevented him from personally accepting the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade last October.

His address at the award ceremony in Frankfurt's St Paul's Church, read by the French publicist Alfred Grosser, once more presented him as a brilliantly analysing chronicler of our era and an irksome moralist out of deep humanity.

All his literary works have autobiographic traits and, like his own life, they exemplify the trials and tribulations of intellectuals in this century.

The son of an Austrian rabbi was only ten when he first became a refugee. The Nazis deported him in 1933. He reached his Paris destination via Switzerland and Yugoslavia, a man whose passport was French but whose home was in the German language.

Hermann Kesten said about the novelist and essayist: "No German writer of our century has more aptly described political destinies."

Manès Sperber remained sensitive to ideological involvement and errors throughout his life.

His own experience was that of an idealistic pacifist and Marxist who broke with Communism during the Stalinist show trials to become the "political conscience" of coming generations.

Europe can save itself if it remains faithful to itself, he said.

The fact that he gave intensive peace research priority over anti-nuclear protests met with resentment after his address read at the award ceremony.

The third volume of Manès Sperber's autobiography is entitled *Bis nun in die Augen legt* (Until they put pennies on my eyes).

We should pick up the pennies and read what's underneath.

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 7 February 1984)

## Georg Büchmann: winged words, proverbs and quotes

for generations of secondary school students in Germany.

Büchmann's rapport with language at school, his erudition and his quick wit drew admiration.

His father was a career non-commissioned army officer. His family went out of its way to enable their ambitious son to study philology and archaeology.

Georg was 23 when he earned his doctorate at Erlangen University with a dissertation of "The Characteristic Differences between the German and Slavic Languages."

His love for language research was intensified through his work in Warsaw and Paris, first as a part-time and later full-time teacher.

It was in Paris that he was inspired to write the book that became his life's work and soon earned him international fame.

France and Britain, where elegant and polished conversation was already essential among the upper classes, already had their collections of literary quotations and proverbs.

Büchmann became an admirer of He-

gel's dialectics and art of debate, while he was at university.

It was almost inevitable that, while teaching at a Brandenburg secondary school and later at a vocational school in Berlin, Büchmann should have devoted himself to exact translations of quotations from foreign literature and research into the origins of German proverbs.

He went about his work with scientific accuracy and became a member of the prestigious Berlin Society for the Study of Modern Languages and Literature.

After almost 20 years of research, he published a 220-page volume with 750 interpretations of quotations and proverbs in 1863.

He himself referred to the work as "winged words," meaning words that come easily and have an instant impact on the listener.

The book was an instant best-seller with ever new revised editions. Eventually, it became a must for every middle class home.

Büchmann's name soon became a household word for German literary quotations. Many tried to imitate him.

Towards the end of his life, he had collected and interpreted 2,260 "winged words."

His work was translated into most European languages. But the literary fame never went to his head. He remained a teacher at the vocational school even after being awarded, at age 50, the title professor, a rare distinction in those days.

The King of Prussia paid tribute to him by decorating him with the Order of the Red Eagle, the classical Prussian award for highly meritorious civil servants.

A severe accident in 1877 made him an invalid, but he continued his work with a collection of fairytales he had begun years earlier.

The small volume, *Märchenbrunnen*, was much hailed at the time though he never had the ambition to match the Grimm Brothers or the Swabian writer and poet Wilhelm Hauff.

When his physical strength waned and he found himself unable to continue his work, he became despondent.

Georg Büchmann died a month after his 62nd birthday. Obituaries praised him as the man who had laid a cornerstone for national education.

Franz Fegeler

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 12 February 1984)



(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 January 1984)



## ■ SOCIETY

## University degree no longer guarantee of a place in the workforce

For a long time hard work and perseverance at university was enough to ensure a good job in industry or the civil service. Academic excellence was not necessary.

There are 600,000 under 25-year-olds out of work, including many graduates. What nobody wanted to believe has happened. A university education is no longer guarantees job.

A high school graduate born in the 1960s who, after a wait of several years, gets a university place, must expect the worst once he starts looking for a job, competing against many others with the same qualifications.

In the 1990s, there will be even fewer vacant jobs and a great many more highly educated people competing for them.

They can expect no money from home nor do they get any unemployment benefits because, as students, they have paid no unemployment insurance.

And social welfare is only granted if a person can prove that he is jobless although he or she was prepared to take any kind of work whatsoever.

Maybe people with doctorates will be sweeping the streets in the 1990s as they now do in Italy.

Already, many graduates in the humanities are glad to get jobs they would have once rejected.

There are plenty of taxi drivers with

### DIE ZEIT

academic degrees and women teachers who are glad to get a job as typists.

This is not a problem yet for such people. But it might one day become an explosive social issue. After all, university students have practice in airing grievances.

As if they had only just realised the dangers, more and more politicians are now warning against going to university, although they know very well that the run on the universities is already programmed.

But even the pessimists in the CDU/CSU could not have anticipated the persistent economic crisis and the constant drop in available jobs.

And since universities are costly it seems doubly advisable to counsel vocational training for high school graduates.

To prevent an academic proletariat developing, Rhineland-Palatinate Prime Minister Bernhard Vogel has suggested that intending graduates seek apprenticeships instead. This, he says, would offer them more security.

Bonn Education Minister Dorothee Wilms also favours vocational training

as an alternative to an academic education.

Nobody can accuse recent school leavers of being inflexible. They have used what scope they have had and have stopped dreaming about old style careers.

The Wissenschaftsrat, an academic body, already defends university entrants against accusations of being unrealistic in planning their future.

Instead, they are said to be "receptive to all information about job prospects." This is confirmed by fluctuations in choosing university subjects.

No sooner did rumours of a shortage of engineers start than the number of students in technical fields rose. And the number wanting to study to become teachers has been declining steadily.

Some have lost interest in further study altogether. Both federal and state statistics show the lowest interest in university entrance since 1971.

In 1982, 67 per cent of high school graduates wanted to go to university. Latest statistics show this is down to 62 per cent.

The old fairy tale about young people having a fixation on dream careers and therefore being unable to find an apprenticeship has long shown to be wrong.

On the contrary. They are increasingly prepared to compromise by accepting careers that fall far short of their original ambitions, and take what's going. This has been confirmed by state Labour Offices.

But these youngsters are hardly interested in even more competition from high school graduates.

Graduates have the edge in the commercial occupations even though most of them regard their completed on-the-job training only as added security.

A survey by the Gesellschaft Hochschul-Informations-System shows that high school graduates don't regard an apprenticeship as a lasting alternative to an academic education.

The Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft also suspects that the 100,000 or so apprentices with high school diplomas are only interested in a dual vocational and academic qualification. As a result, they only put an additional strain on the apprenticeship market.

Some 670,000 apprenticeship contracts were signed last year compared with 700,000 registered applicants, according to Labour Office figures.

But government and Opposition in Bonn still disagree over how many applicants were actually unsuccessful. The figures range between 31,000 and 60,000.

The trade unions represented in the Federal Institute for Vocational Training speak of 80,000.

The only thing that is certain is that things will be worse this year, with more applicants and even fewer vacancies.

It is feared that there will be a shortage of some 100,000 apprenticeships. The figure does not include those who have given up.

The solution on which the business community and the politicians agreed many years ago seemed plausible at the time.

Business was prepared number of apprenticeships and the education ministers promoted university education.

In 1977, the state education ministers

promised to keep the university open to applicants, and the West German Vice-Chancellors' Conference agreed to support this.

Though there has been a considerable increase in the number of apprenticeships since then, the demand-supply ratio was never closed. And the universities have their worst problems still ahead of them.

The previous SPD-FDP coalition wanted to help ever more to graduate from high school. This was intended to help towards the personal development of the individual and to boost the nation's educational level to a bid to compete with industrial competition abroad.

The policy was successful. In 1983 only eight per cent of young people graduated from high school and went to university. Today's figure for university entrance is 20 per cent.

The Standing Conference of German University Vice-Chancellors expects the figure for university entrance to rise to between 34 and 38 per cent.

The number of university students rose from 291,000 to 1.2 million in the 1960s.

The Standing Conference of Education Ministers expects a peak in 1990 of 1.5 million students.

Educational promotion also had a good side. In the 1970s, it provided much-needed relief for the hard-pressed job market by easing the number of job hunters.

About 680,000 people were held in the job market because of education between 1971 and 1980, according to Manfred Tesslering of the Institute for Labour Market and Vocational Research.

### Problem only delayed

But the problem has only been postponed, not solved.

Tesslering expects 400,000 graduates of all kinds to crowd the job market between 1986 and 1990. The figure is expected to rise to 600,000 between 1991 and 1995.

Working lives have become shorter and the influx of graduates to the market has become more graduated.

Which is cause and which effect? Certainly not the alleged excessive number of young people to go to university causes the job bottleneck.

They must continue to go to university if things are not to get worse. The universities have no choice but to open their doors to acceptable applicants.

Though hard hit by stiff financial cuts, the universities are prepared to honour their promise to take apprentices from the baby-boom years.

The vice-chancellors think that the idea of having even more school graduates take up apprenticeships.

They fear that they will take the place of other youngsters who would get no vocational training at all.

The vice-chancellors argue that the number of university students would not halve supply and demand on the job market but would simply move the problem to another plane.

Their experience with long-term power forecasts has, in any event, been poor.

The salient point is career prospects both today and tomorrow. The question is not whether a few more or a few less school graduates go to university.

The question is where to find jobs.

Ruth Bergmann

(Die Zeit, 10 February 1984)

## ■ MODERN LIVING

## Vicarage refuge in bid to avoid deportation

believe that in this way pauses for thought are provided for both sides, enabling talks to be resumed.

"An area of freedom for people is what is being sounded out."

Church tradition is recalled by these words, although not exactly Protestant tradition. But the Catholic church retained a right of asylum until recently.

In the first centuries of the Christian era people who were sought by the authorities, whether rightly or wrongly, could always rely on the church for temporary refuge.

The church offered asylum until clerical authorities had drawn up objections to the prosecution and been given an answer.

This right of asylum was breached by various special provisions but the idea of the church as a place of refuge has never entirely been lost. It now seems to be gaining ground among Protestants.

Hamburg is not the only German city where aliens have been granted asylum by Protestant parishes. It happened in Gelsenkirchen in the Ruhr last summer.

Refuge was given to a Turkish woman facing deportation whose husband had

worked as a coalminer since 1970 and had died in a road accident.

This protection and the public outcry succeeded in getting the deportation order on the widow and her children withdrawn.

For the clergymen and congregations that now champion aliens' rights it is not just a matter of church traditions but of the political past.

"I am a German and part of the history of a people that has repeatedly persecuted minorities," Rev. Arndt says.

"War must never again break out on German soil, and people must never again be persecuted in Germany either." He refers to everyday racism.

Another point strikes him: "Foreigners here are treated as though they were merely labourers. But people are more than that, which is why the church cannot be silent about what is being done with aliens these days."

Arndt accuses politicians of behaving like courts, "but parliament has other duties to perform than to play at being a court of law."

Parishioners who in the past have always strongly favoured keeping the

church and politics apart have now realised, he says, that nothing can be achieved without political intervention.

It remains to be seen whether more can be accomplished than a delay in deporting people. In Hamburg only the GAL, the small ecological group in the city council, are strictly opposed to deportation orders.

The ruling Social Democrats will be unable to avoid further internal dispute on the subject and can no longer take the easy way out and leave it to the courts to decide.

Unrest in Social Democratic ranks is too strong just to rubber-stamp legal rulings.

Home Affairs Senator Alfons Pawelczyk has submitted proposals to the Standing Conference of Land Interior Ministers.

He would like to see a joint approach adopted to cases such as those described. If he goes it alone he is afraid people in a similar position will head for Hamburg from all over the country.

The conference has begun by instructing civil servants to consider the matter. That is unlikely to be of much help to the Datta family.

The Alvios were able to return to their home for the time being. Their lawyer, Rolf Geffken, has appealed against the deportation order to the administrative court.

Kersten Plog

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 February 1984)

## An aliens policy compromise in sight

Herr Zimmermann rejects this idea as impracticable. Children of this kind would be "wanderers between two worlds" and nowhere at home or capable of being integrated.

Is there any need for fresh restrictions, the Free Democrats wonder. So do the churches and trade unions, hearing in mind population trends.

For the past two years the number of foreign residents in the Federal Republic has declined steadily: by 111,300 in 1982 and by 130,000 in 1983.

For the first time ever the number of Turkish migrant workers and their families has declined too. The number of newcomers has remained stable but that of returnees has increased.

In September 1982 there were 1,580,000 Turkish residents. By September last year their number had declined to 1,520,000.

A recent poll of Turkish heads of households in Germany by the Isoplan market research institute has revealed that the potential number of wives and children who might join husbands in the Federal Republic may not yet have been exhausted but is by no means as substantial as is often imagined.

Of the Turkish men — married men — interviewed, 77 per cent already had their wives living with them in Germany, and of the remaining 23 only 15 per cent said they might be joining them in the foreseeable future.

The same goes for children still living in Turkey. Thirty per cent of the Turks questioned said they still had children back home.

But only five per cent of them, or 16 per cent of the respondents with children still in Turkey, planned to bring them to Germany as matters stand.

Assuming the intentions stated are put

into practice to a reasonable extent, says Manfred Werth of Isoplan, that would mean the number of newcomers from Turkey will continue to decline in the years ahead.

It will do so perceptibly even without further restrictions. Estimates for a twelve-month period indicate the number of newcomers will be halved.

According to the Isoplan survey only seven per cent of Turkish families in the Federal Republic plan to stay in Germany for good.

In his government policy statement Chancellor Kohl outlined the essentials of aliens policy regardless of the debate on details.

They are: a limitation in the number of foreign residents, integration and encouragement of voluntary repatriation.

Consideration is being given at the Labour Ministry to whether foreign residents who are willing to return to their native countries and are eligible for repatriation grants can be paid grants while still in Germany.

By the terms of the appropriate legislation they are only entitled to be paid the grant on leaving the country to ensure they don't stay illegally.

Prior payment will, it is hoped, persuade a larger number of Turkish workers in particular to return home.

They stand to receive as much as DM30,000 to DM 60,000, including pension contribution refunds and severance payments.

Many would like to buy machinery or equipment in Germany to set up a workshop or small factory back home. 43.3 per cent of Turks questioned by Isoplan said they were seriously considering the idea.

Why were Turks keen to return home anxious to do so? Loneliness and homesickness as motives were mentioned by 55 per cent.

Next, with 44 per cent, came the dislike of and hostility toward foreigners they experienced in the Federal Republic.

Günter Kleer

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 3 February 1984)

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